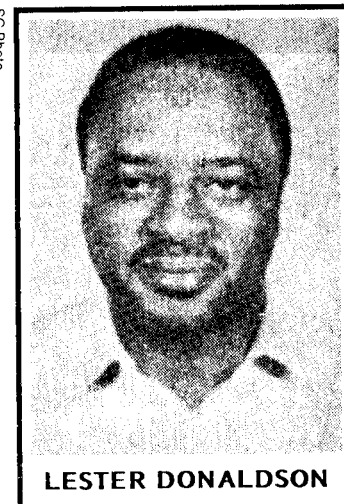


## Toronto Police Kill Disabled Black Man

# Stop Racist Cop Terror!



LESTER DONALDSON

Toronto, August 13: Trotskyist League joined hundreds of demonstrators protesting racist cop murder.

Chanting "2, 4, 6, 8, Canada, A Racist State!" nearly 1,000 demonstrators took to Toronto's streets August 13, outraged at the cops' racist murder of 44-year-old Lester Donaldson. In a corner store along the march an elderly Italian shopkeeper explained to a customer, "The police are killing all the black people"—and it's been happening all across North America. Anthony Griffin blown away in Montreal less than a year ago; five-year-old Patrick Mason, killed by Los Angeles cops in 1983; Eleanor Bumpurs, gunned down in New York in 1984 for falling behind on her rent; Loyal Garner, beaten to death by cops in East Texas last Christmas. And most hideous of all, eleven men, women and babies—members of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia—incinerated by firebomb in 1985, a whole black neighborhood burned down, the massacre given the go-ahead at the highest levels of power.

Manitoba Native leader John Joseph Harper, Toronto black men Albert Johnson and Buddy Evans,

now Lester Donaldson. *Enough is enough!* Toronto isn't some rural backwater but a city filled with hundreds of thousands of working people. What's needed is powerful protest by the integrated labor movement to serve notice that decent people will not tolerate these racist atrocities.

### VENGEANCE FOR LESTER DONALDSON!

"Murder, Murder!" the demonstrators cried on August 13, and that's exactly what it was. The cops had wanted Lester Donaldson's blood for years. Here was a black man who had managed to acquire some modest properties, including four houses, a small recording company and a restaurant. His "crime," it seems, was being a Jamaican who tried to make it in "multicultural" Canada.

In August 1983 the cops first came after Lester, assaulting him in his home, leaving him with a serious shoulder injury, then framing him up for assault.

(continued on page 12)

# Imperialist "Peacekeepers" in Iran/Iraq

## Canadian Troops Out of the Middle East!

The U.S. blew 290 men, women and children out of the sky over the Persian Gulf July 3, and then tried to blame the defenseless victims who happened to end up in their gunsights. Now, after a "special investigation," U.S. Defense Department spokesmen say the shooting down of Iran Air Flight 655 by the



Ian MacDonald

**Canadian "peacekeepers" en route to Iran/Iraq.  
Imperialists out of the Middle East!**

USS *Vincennes* was the result of "mistakes" made under "stress of combat" by inexperienced crewmen. But it wasn't "human error" that killed those people—it was conscious policy made in the White House and Pentagon.

Washington's loyal toadies in Ottawa immediately backed this made-in-the-U.S. massacre. So too did they toe their senior partner's line when the Soviet Union shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007 five years ago. NDP leader Ed Broadbent led the pack to join with the Reaganauts in revving up the anti-Soviet war drive to a white heat. But Soviet jets had tried unsuccessfully for an hour and a half to warn off the Korean plane, which had flown deep into their airspace and refused to acknowledge any communication. KAL was a Cold War spy provocation, with over 200 civilian hostages on board. In stark contrast, the *Vincennes* shot down Iran Air 655, over Iranian air space, just minutes after it took off.

Two weeks later, Iran announced its acceptance of a UN-sponsored ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war. Even before the formal truce went into effect on August 20, 500 Canadian troops were on their way to the region, part of a UN "peacekeeping force." Boarding U.S. C-5 Galaxy transport planes they flew to U.S. military bases in West Germany, then

on to Iran and Iraq. Operation Vagabond is meant to provide a blue-helmeted cover for imperialist policing of the area. We say: U.S., Canada—Out of the Middle East!

The eight-years-long squalid slaughter of the Iran-Iraq war has cost the lives of more than a million toilers. Both regimes are vicious enemies, first and foremost, of their "own" workers and peasants; both are murderous oppressors of national minorities within their borders, particularly the Kurds. From the very beginning of the fratricidal killing we called for the defeat of *both* these reactionary regimes. We emphasized that it would take revolutionary class struggle by the workers and oppressed in each country against their main enemy—the Iranian mullahs and Iraqi colonels—to truly stop the horror. Workers of the world must have no faith in a peace brokered by the bloody imperialists!

Almost all the left hailed Khomeini's 1978-79 "Islamic revolution" in Iran against the bloody shah. Only the international Spartacist tendency proclaimed: "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! Workers to Power in Iran!" When Iran was threatened by U.S. war moves in 1980 we demanded: Hands Off Iran! This has nothing in common with those who claim Khomeini is an "anti-imperialist" and that the U.S. presence in the Gulf transformed the Iran-Iraq war into an imperialist war against Iran. Before the Iran/contra affair exploded the U.S. was shipping arms to Iran, and today Reagan offers blood money for the victims of Flight 655. For its part Iran has made repeated initiatives to normalize relations with the U.S.

At July demonstrations protesting the Persian Gulf shutdown, the Spartacist League/U.S. denounced the U.S. massacre while advancing the perspective of revolutionary defeatism on both sides of the Iran-Iraq war. Our comrades carried signs reading, "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!" "Down with the Mullahs and Colonels! For Workers Revolution in Iran and Iraq!" and "Down with CIA's Afghan Cutthroats—Soviet Withdrawal

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### SPARTACIST CANADA

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# Bitter Fruit of Gorbachev's "Peaceful Coexistence"

## Angola: Rotten Deal with Apartheid Butchers

At a South African military base on August 22 a joint Cuban/Angolan delegation and representatives of the apartheid regime signed a formal cease-fire accord in the 13-year-old war in Angola. Five weeks earlier representatives of the three countries declared that they had reached an accord on the "essential principles" of a "peace plan." Brokered by Reagan's hatchet man for African affairs, Chester Crocker, the "principles" commit Angola and Cuba to a "staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops" from Angola, and reportedly to forming a "new government of national unity" in Luanda including "the U.S.-backed rebel forces led by Jonas Savimbi" (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 July). In exchange, South Africa agreed to implement a ten-year-old United Nations resolution calling for reducing the number of South African troops in Namibia (Southwest Africa) and UN-sponsored elections there.

But Cuban troops and Soviet arms have been the decisive military factor in thwarting Pretoria's designs of transforming black Angola into a neo-colonial vassal state ever since South African troops invaded that newly independent country in 1975. Coming in the wake of the Soviet pullout from Afghanistan, this rotten deal is one more product of Mikhail Gorbachev's conciliation of U.S. imperialism. If implemented, it offers up resource-rich Angola on a silver platter to the apartheid regime. And it's all the more galling because it comes *only weeks after South African troops got their asses whipped by combined Cuban and Angolan forces.*

A year ago South African forces reinvaded Angola in a bid to shore up its puppet Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA mercenaries in their war against the Soviet/Cuban-allied Angolan nationalist regime. Savimbi has also been receiving "covert" aid from the CIA to the tune of at least \$15 million a year since 1985. The U.S. aid now includes Stinger anti-aircraft missiles which were used to shoot down an Angolan passenger plane, killing over a hundred. Late last year more than 6,000 heavily armed South African troops moved against Cuito Cuanavale, a vital government supply base in southern Angola, and by January they were hurling some 200 artillery shells a day onto the town.

In response, according to the official Cuban news-

paper *Granma* (12 June), Cuban president Fidel Castro offered the Luanda regime reinforcements including "the best Cuban MIG-23 pilots until air and antiaircraft superiority over the enemy was achieved." The first contingent of Cuban reinforcements arrived in Cuito on December 5, along with



Cuban troops and Soviet arms, including anti-aircraft missile batteries, have been key in stopping South African invasion.

Soviet tanks, MI-24 attack helicopters and SAM anti-aircraft batteries. In a series of battles in the early months of this year they made mincemeat of the apartheid forces. The last South African attack was repulsed on March 23, sending Pretoria's army scurrying out of Angola into Namibia.

In May, reportedly reinforced with another 8,000 troops, the Cubans went after the retreating South African forces, leading to another confrontation in late June at Calueque, only seven miles from the Namibian border. A joint Angolan/Cuban force of 600 infantry, 35 tanks and a dozen MIGs flown by Cubans, augmented by Namibian guerrillas of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation), reportedly bombed the Calueque dam and inflicted what the NATO house organ *Jane's Defence Weekly* (9 July) described as "one of the heaviest losses experienced by the South African Defence Forces... during the 13-year-long war."

When Pretoria reported that 12 white soldiers died, it sent shock waves through South Africa. (As usual they did not mention casualties among

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# CP's "Peaceful Coexistence" with NATO

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking" has reached the Communist Party of Canada (CP), bringing in its wake a new and younger leadership to replace the aging William Kashtan regime. But as George Hewison, a former United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union bureaucrat, took the helm at the party's 27th Convention in Toronto last May, the CP tops ran into a spot of heavy water. Calling for the "widest possible unity" with the Cold Warriors of the NDP, the Central Committee's main resolution embraced the NDP's military policies, claiming these have "challenged the position of the neo-conservative government on the issue of defence." And the resolution's declaration that "the best means to express" opposition to Canada's membership in NATO "is for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization" provoked hot discussion in the corridors, and was amended and resubmitted innumerable times.

Certainly we sympathize with the convention delegate who rose to explain that there is a class difference between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. But the Communist Party buried the class line decades ago. A deeply reformist party, the CP tries to serve two counterposed masters: the Kremlin bureaucracy which rules the Soviet degenerated workers state, and the mythical "progressive" wing of the Canadian bourgeoisie. This creates certain political contradictions—which the CP has always sought to resolve on the side of reformism.

When NDP leader Ed Broadbent announced his party was dumping its paper "Canada out of NATO" demand, relegating it to a "long-range goal" that

would not necessarily come even in a second NDP term (*Toronto Star*, 18 April), the CP's initial response was mildly critical. Shortly after, however, under the headline "CP updates stand on NDP report," the *Canadian Tribune* (16 May) announced a "revised" position. It welcomed the new NDP line, claiming it "allows for the maximum unity of peace forces." Left unmentioned, then or since, was the NDP's promise to spend a *billion dollars a year* for the next two decades on frigates, minesweepers and submarines—all aimed at the "Soviet threat."

To be sure, this kind of covering for Canadian imperialist militarism isn't new for the CP. For years they have peddled the lie that the Canadian imperialists are peace-loving "brave neutral mediators," clean of hand and pure of heart. The Stalinists' call to withdraw Canada from NATO has been linked to pleas for an "independent foreign policy of peace"—as though the Canadian jackals were really, somehow, better than the American eagles. But from Korea to Vietnam to Central America, the very bloody Canadian merchants of death have supported every dirty war launched by Washington.

Today, however, the CP's search for "peace forces" has reached even the White House. When nuclear nut Reagan met Gorbachev in Moscow last June, the Kremlin dubbed this "the summit that will finally bury the Cold War," and the Canadian Stalinists fatuously praised the "new spirit of cooperation." At the Toronto convention a leading CPer took the floor to state: "I don't think 'Canada out of NATO' should be first or primary.... It doesn't

(continued on page 11)



SC Photo

U.S. missiles in West Germany target USSR (left). Vancouver May Day, 1982: TL opposes anti-Soviet war drive, Canadian imperialists.

## For International Class-Struggle Defense!

# Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!



**Mumia Abu-Jamal and son, Mazi Mustafa, in 1982.**

"In solitary confinement in Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison, a young black man awaits the electric chair. Mumia Abu-Jamal is a death row political prisoner. He faces death today because yesterday he defied this racist, capitalist order. Mumia is a man marked for extinction, a member of an endangered political species—one of that breed of black youth who was radicalized through the struggles of the sixties, who came through the Black Panther Party and is still resisting the racist system which is trying to kill him. It is that history which has made Mumia the target of a deadly state vendetta."

—*Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, March 1988

For 20 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal had been in the cross hairs of Philadelphia's racist killer cops. He had been a leading Black Panther Party member and was an outspoken MOVE supporter. An articulate and passionate journalist, he was president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. It was this voice that the racist cops and rulers of the city of "brotherly love" wanted silenced.

On 9 December 1981 they tried to kill Jamal in the streets, but failed. Mumia was working as a cab driver and saw a cop beating his brother who had been stopped for an alleged traffic violation. Mumia rushed in, taking a near-fatal bullet in the stomach. When the gun smoke cleared the cop was dead. Mumia was sitting on the curb bleeding pro-

fusely. He was arrested on charges of killing a cop. The witnesses had contradictory stories. But the state had the man it wanted. In July 1982 he was convicted of murder and sentenced to die in the electric chair.

From the outset, the prosecution sought to prove that Mumia was a committed cop-killer, that his membership in the Panthers was proof of that. The D.A. cited a 1970 *Philadelphia Inquirer* article in which Jamal uses the Panther slogan "All power to the people!" He assured a death sentence by telling the jury that Jamal would never die—he would have "appeal after appeal after appeal." But today Mumia is still on death row.

The Partisan Defense Committee is campaigning to prevent the legal murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/U.S. PDC representatives and SL supporters have sought out organizations and individuals who oppose the barbaric death penalty to go to bat for Jamal: an Atlanta conference of Third World Journalists; an American Civil Liberties Union meeting in L.A.; and in Washington, D.C., the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The PDC has also been circulating a letter and petition calling to "Save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Both the Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 308 in Chicago, and the Communications Workers of America, Local 4309 in Cleveland, have sent letters. Individual signatories to the letter include: Percy Sutton, former Manhattan Borough president; Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Bob Brown, co-editor of *Pan-African Roots* newspaper; Ramsey Clark, attorney; and Howard Fast, author [organizations listed for identification purposes only].

In Toronto a Trotskyist League supporter and member of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers addressed a meeting of the Ontario Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, gaining a warm response. Toronto Metro and City councillor Jack Layton and Stewart Istvanffy, secretary, Ligue des Droits et Libertés in Montreal are among the endorsers of the PDC's letter and attorney Clayton Ruby sent his own appeal for Jamal. Black Steelworkers and other unionists have signed the petition, just some of the over 3,000 across North America to do so.

Take Jamal's case to your unions, community organizations, campuses and all opponents of the racist death penalty. To get your petitions write to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, NY, NY 10013. Send a donation of \$5 or more to receive a subscription to the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. Join the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal! ■

# Nationalism, Racism and the Quebec Left

On April 17, more than 25,000 people marched through Montreal in defense of Law 101, the French-unilingualism legislation of the 1976-85 Parti Québécois government. Demanding the Liberal Bourassa regime enforce Law 101's prohibition of English-language signs, thousands of youth joined PQ leader Jacques Parizeau, Quebec NDP chief Roland Morin, officials of the three labor centrals and others behind the banners of the right-wing nationalist St. Jean Baptiste Society and Mouvement National



**Montreal, April 17: Nationalists march in defense of Law 101, Quebec's French-only language legislation.**

des Québécois. The left gushed with enthusiasm. In the words of one group, Gauche Socialiste (Socialist Left), this was "a start of resistance," "the opening shot in a new cycle of the national movement.... Happily, we are only at the very beginning of the process..." (*Combat Socialiste*, May 1988).

In contrast, trade union and left organizations were, for the most part, absent when 800 mainly black protesters demonstrated on February 27 against the acquittal of the cop murderer of black Montreal youth Anthony Griffin. This brutal racist execution, now officially sanctioned by the capitalist state, should have been met with militant, mass protest by all of Montreal labor.

Quebec today is witnessing the rapid growth of a rightist nationalist movement, at best indifferent to and at worst incorporating the most grotesque forms of racism and chauvinism. The South Asian magazine *Montreal Serai* (December 1987) reported how "a sizeable group of activists, several of them from the St. Jean Baptiste society, staged a demonstration outside the Quebec Immigration offices against the arrival of the 'boat people' from Sri

Lanka and India. Mouthng horrendously xenophobic slogans against 'immigrants,' they trooped around the block shouting against the 'destruction of Quebec's heritage and culture.'"

And on the night of June 22, for the second time in a month, nationalist hooligans invaded the heavily black, English-speaking west end Montreal community of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. They vandalized more than 20 stores, spraying "101" in brown paint on windows bearing English signs. "It's the same way it started in Germany," said an Iranian immigrant shopkeeper who grew up in Nazi Germany. "First they painted stars [of David] on the windows and everybody laughed..." (*Gazette [Montreal]*, 23 June).

## LAW 101 AND THE NEW RISE OF NATIONALISM

Two decades ago, opposition to the pervasive anti-French chauvinism of the arrogant English-Canadian bourgeoisie helped fuel the rise of the most militant proletariat and largest organized "far left" north of Mexico. Quebec labor's combativity led to the semi-insurrectionary general strike of 1972, most explosive class battle in North American working-class history. But the "socialist"-talking union bureaucracy, cheered on by the left, led the workers into a nationalist trap, channeling labor militancy into votes for the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois.

René Lévesque & Co. never even pretended to be "friends of labor." Rather they pledged to strengthen an indigenous Québécois ruling class, shore up French language and culture and seek national sovereignty combined with economic association with the rest of Canada. And, while losing the 1980 "sovereignty-association" referendum, they kept the bulk of their promises. They turned on and inflicted a series of crippling defeats on the powerful union movement. They utilized the provincial state apparatus to greatly strengthen the nascent Québécois bourgeoisie. And they forestalled the erosion of French through the discriminatory Law 101, which severely restricted the use of English while compelling all new immigrants to be educated in French. We wrote at the time:

"The PQ bill contains certain obvious democratic reforms, such as the unconditional right to use the French language at work....

"However the basic thrust of the new legislation is chauvinist—a nationalist reaction to anti-French discrimination....

"Thus in the same way that Ontario discriminates against its French-speaking minorities, Quebec will discriminate against its own non-French-speakers—both English-speaking and immigrant. English is not simply the language of a tiny coterie of Westmount bourgeois, but is the language of hundreds of thousands of working people in

Quebec, particularly in Montreal."

—Spartacist Canada No. 16, May 1977

Against the Anglo-chauvinist hue and cry, we raised the call for Quebec's unconditional right to self-determination (i.e., to independence). Defense of this right by English-Canadian labor is crucial to undercut chauvinism and nationalism and forge class unity—English, French, immigrant—against the common capitalist enemy. But even at the height of separatist sentiment tensions between English-Canadian and Québécois workers were never so enflamed as to render utopian the perspective of joint class struggle within the present unitary state. Thus we argued (and continue to argue) against the exercise of Québécois self-determination. And throughout we opposed all aspects of nationalist ideology, including on the language question. Pointing out that Law 101 was particularly discriminatory against immigrants, many of whom already spoke or sought to learn English as the prime language of economic opportunity in North America, we counterposed the call for equal language rights for all. In contrast, the bulk of the left supported Law 101, championed a "unilingual French Quebec," and sought to give a "socialist" cover to bourgeois nationalism.

Now the nationalist chickens are coming home to roost. The working class is still prostrate after the PQ's union-busting onslaught. Today's new rise of nationalism is overwhelmingly dominated by rightist reactionaries. And there is an ominous intersection with straight-out racism.

With the Québécois birthrate among the world's lowest, within three years more than half of all students in Montreal will be children of immigrants.

Though being educated in French, few are assimilating into mainstream Québécois society. Moreover, as in the rest of North America, capitalist deindustrialization means jobs are increasingly in service and high-technology sectors—and both serving up a McPoulet in a downtown Montreal McDonalds and doing sophisticated computer work for the North American market require knowledge of English.

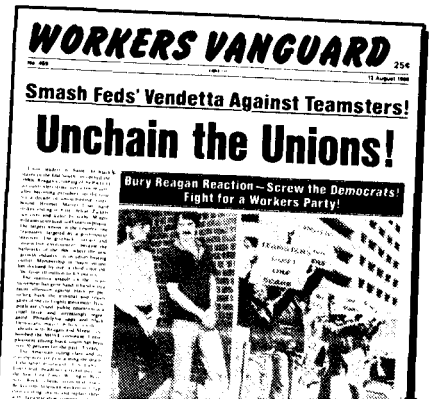
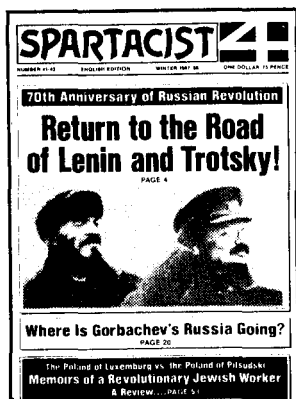
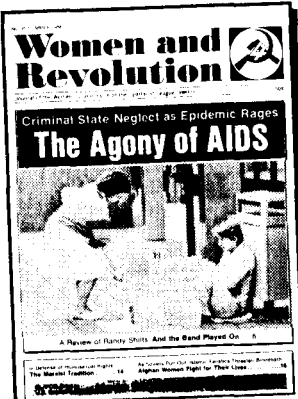
Add to this the fact that, over the past decade and a half, Montreal has seen a major influx of non-white (Caribbean black and South Asian) immigration, now approaching ten percent of the city's population. With the exception of French-speaking Haitians (whose language is no protection against racist terror), the vast majority speak English. The result is a fertile culture medium for nationalist demagogues to whip up an outcry against immigrants, while mobilizing the Québécois petty bourgeoisie around the cry to "Defend Law 101." And, having learned nothing from the experiences of the past decade, most Quebec leftists have embraced the new rise of nationalism, painting it in "progressive" or even "revolutionary" colors.

**QUEBEC LEFT MIRED IN NATIONALISM**

The Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (LOR—Revolutionary Workers League, co-thinkers of the American Socialist Workers Party) has always fulsomely endorsed Law 101 and Quebec nationalism in general. When the law was first instituted, the LOR attacked the PQ government from the right, denouncing its "kid gloves treatment" of Montreal schoolchildren who didn't want to be forced into French schools. Today the LOR gives the nationalist

(continued on page 8)

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## Quebec Left...

(continued from page 7)

demonstrations unconditional and uncritical approval, while organizing joint platforms with the rightist Parti Indépendantiste, some of whose supporters have also built racist anti-immigrant protests.

Gauche Socialiste (GS), representing the wing of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" associated with Ernest Mandel, has been almost as servile. All-out partisans of Quebec independence (even when most nationalists have lost interest), GS claims that "only the assertion of a workers and socialist pole can permit us to go all the way in the national struggle..." (*Combat Socialiste*, June 1988). They rant, Péquiste-style, that "The center of Montreal is becoming more and more 'bilingual,' which is nothing but a step toward the return of English unilingualism" (May 1988).

While cheering on the nationalist mobilizations, GS's response to the sharp rise of racism has been



McInnis/CP

### Funeral for black youth Anthony Griffin, murdered by racist Montreal cops.

disgraceful. In response to the vicious police murder of Anthony Griffin, the *March Combat Socialiste* published a tiny box on page two which mentioned the word racism precisely once and mainly emphasized how cops also attack "the popular classes of the white population"! GS's nationalism, at best color-blind, is so deep that despite their self-proclaimed "fusion" with the English-Canadian Socialist Challenge, they retain an unconditional political veto: "...if it ever occurs that political differences correspond to national origins, the pan-Canadian congress cannot reverse the decisions of the national conference of Quebec" (June 1988). "To be sure," adds GS unashamedly, "this deviates a little bit from the classic centralized model...." Indeed.

More contradictory and left-inclined is Action Socialiste (AS--Socialist Action), which emerged from a Montreal-based student group in early 1986. Denouncing Gauche Socialiste as "Nationalists to

the Tips of Their Fingers," AS opposes the demand for an independent Quebec and correctly notes that "The national movement in Quebec is presently recomposing to the right, and is nourishing itself on xenophobia and racism" (*Socialisme Maintenant*, February 1987). Its response to the April 17 demonstration was to warn "all progressive forces" that "it is in no case admissible...to reconcile themselves to the ultra-conservative, anti-working class, xenophobic right incarnated in the St. Jean Baptiste Society and the Mouvement National des Québécois" (June 1988). And unlike most of the left, it intervened actively in protests against the Anthony Griffin murder, demanding "a firm and offensive" struggle, albeit through a vague "broad popular movement against racism."

But Action Socialiste is very far from providing a revolutionary alternative. To start with, it upholds Law 101 as a "product of popular struggles," and defends its discriminatory restrictions on the language of education. Contrast Lenin, writing in 1913: "The Marxists' national programme...advocates firstly, the equality of nations and languages and the impermissibility of all *privileges* in this respect" ("Critical Remarks on the National Question"). Lenin emphasized that: "Working-class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of *all* nationalities in *all* working-class organizations...in contradistinction to any kind of bourgeois nationalism."

And the international positions of AS are even more false and dangerous. While rejecting aspects of nationalism at home, they give uncritical political support to sundry petty-bourgeois nationalists abroad, such as the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front. Trotskyists in contrast defend such movements militarily against imperialism, but give no support to their class-collaborationist politics and fight to build revolutionary *proletarian* parties in every country.

The chief lesson from the spectacular collapse of the 1970s Quebec left (the once thousands-strong Mao-Stalinist groups, as well as GS's predecessors of the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire) is the need for a consistent *revolutionary internationalist* program. While the GMR sank in the sewers of nationalism (only to re-emerge, having learned less than nothing), the "M-L" Stalinists combined a partial rejection of Quebec nationalism with visceral *anti-Sovietism*, leading straight to a "united front" with the Canadian bourgeoisie. The largest, the so-called Workers Communist Party, openly called for building the bourgeois Canadian army. By 1982, the chill winds of the Cold War had blown these groups completely away.

Tellingly, Action Socialiste too has embraced the anti-Soviet *causes célèbres* of the Department of External Affairs. Nowhere upholding defense of the USSR against imperialism and counterrevolution, AS champions CIA-backed movements like Polish Solidarność, and denounces the just 1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against a gang





January 1983: Quebec unionists demonstrate against René Lévesque and his PQ labor-haters.

of reactionary theocratic Islamic cutthroats as a "war of occupation." If history is not to repeat itself as farce (or worse), the best elements of Quebec's

left and labor movement must break with *all* aspects of nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

Since our founding in 1975, the Trotskyist League, Canadian sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, has uniquely fought for the perspective of bi-national revolutionary class unity in which the combative Quebec proletariat must necessarily constitute a vanguard in socialist revolution throughout North America. We warned that the PQ's rise to power would produce exactly what Lévesque wrought: a vicious anti-labor government using the *fleur de lys* to dupe the workers while cutting their throats. We have defended Quebec's right to independence, not because separation would be "progressive" but because the forcible national subjugation of Quebec by English Canada is a *barrier* to the class unity of the English-speaking and French-speaking proletariats of North America.

Today's dangerous rise of rightist, openly chauvinist nationalism underlines all the more clearly that the workers of Quebec will find their social as well as their national liberation only in the framework of the North American socialist revolution. Join us in the struggle for a bi-national, multi-racial revolutionary workers party, necessary instrument for the workers' emancipation. ■

## From the Dustbin of History

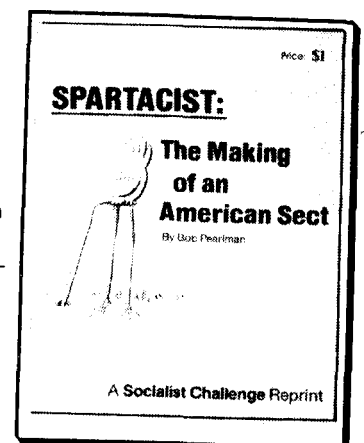
...or at least the remaindered-bin of reformism, comes an eleven-year-old polemic against the Spartacist tendency. In May, the English-Canadian Alliance for Socialist Action of Barry Weisleder and the Quebec Gauche Socialiste held a "unification convention," producing a "new" organization dubbed Gauche Socialiste-Socialist Challenge. Among the very first publications of this, the latest Canadian organization professing adherence to Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, is a pamphlet: "SPARTACIST: The Making of an American Sect."

Penned in 1977 by one Bob Pearlman, a former alternate member of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee, and originally published in the American SWP's now-defunct *Intercontinental Press*, this polemic centers on the SWP's and SL's counterposed responses to the racist mobilizations that defeated school busing in Boston in 1974-75. The SL stood for labor/black defense against the racist assaults. The social-patriotic reformists of the SWP demanded "Federal troops to Boston," claiming that the U.S. Army, fresh from murdering the Vietnamese workers and peasants, could be pressured to defend black people. Copies of our reply to Pearlman, "Alibis of a Social Democrat," reproduced from *Workers Vanguard*, are available for \$1.00.

Interestingly, Weisleder could easily have dug up a more leftist polemic against us, "Spartacist League: Anatomy of a Sect," which appeared in an "Education for Socialists" bulletin (June 1974), nominally published by Mandel's then Canadian ad-

herents, the Revolutionary Marxist Group. That Weisleder's group now publishes a (reformist) SWP, not a (centrist) Mandelite, polemic against us speaks volumes about their political course over the years.

We, however, have published the RMG's piece. It's available (price \$3.75) as the first number in



**Alibis of a social democrat: Socialist Challenge, latest incarnation of Canadian Mandelism, recycles American SWP's eleven-year-old defense of social-patriotic reformism.**

our "Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League" series which seeks to publish the material and arguments of our more leftist-sounding critics which we and perhaps they would consider interesting, representative or important. The entire series is now back in print and the latest, Number 5, "The Bolshevik Tendency" is available for \$2.50. ■

## Angola...

(continued from page 3)

the black troops who are the overwhelming majority of South African forces in Angola.) Like Zionist Israel, white-supremacist South Africa is stunned when even a single white soldier is killed in combat by blacks. This battle ranks as an unprecedented military defeat for the apartheid regime. The South African army, strained by continuing black unrest in the townships and a growing draft refusal movement among liberal whites, has been compelled to call up reserves. Now even the conservative Afrikaner Dutch Reformed Church is calling for withdrawal from Angola.



SC Photo

**Trotskyist League opposes apartheid invasion of Angola, Toronto 1981. Proposed withdrawal of Cuban troops poses grave danger to black Angola.**

Castro claimed that "the history of Africa will have to be written before and after Cuito Cuavale." Yet *Granma* headlined its report of the impressive Cuban triumphs in Angola: "We Don't Want a Military Victory Over South Africa, We Want a Fair Solution." Speaking at a news conference in Ecuador, Castro hailed the ceasefire agreement, claiming it "opens the way to a peaceful and negotiated settlement" (*Toronto Star*, 14 August). The Cuban Stalinists are ready to throw away hard-won battlefield gains as a bargaining chip to cut a deal with the Washington/Pretoria axis because, like their Soviet mentors, they are committed to "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist warmongers in the White House.

The Angola accords are a spin-off of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Moscow. Such deals only encourage the imperialists to more aggression, ultimately threatening the gains of the Bolshevik

October Revolution. But it may not be so easy for Moscow to "extinguish" the "regional hot spot" in southern Africa. South Africa—and the U.S.—wants the Cubans to get out immediately so it can have a free hand in the region, while Cuba and Angola have insisted first on guarantees for Angolan security and independence for Namibia, both of which require the withdrawal of South African troops. In recent months UNITA has increasingly moved its support bases to American-backed Zaire in the north. And Washington now says that since it is not a signatory, it intends to continue arming UNITA.

While the pressure to capitulate is coming from the Kremlin, the Luanda regime has been pleading with Washington for a while. Despite its "socialist" coloration, adopted by virtually every "Third World" nationalist movement, the MPLA (which now calls itself the Party of Labor) has sought all along to build up a bourgeois state. Critically dependent on the Gulf Oil complex for hard currency, the Luanda regime has deployed nearly half the Cuban garrison in the north, many protecting the Cabinda oil fields. From the moment they came to the aid of black Angola in 1975, we have supported the Cuban troops fighting the CIA/South African-backed forces—without giving political support to the petty-bourgeois nationalists in Luanda.

Today, after more than ten years of civil war, Angola is in ruins and the poverty-stricken regime—like all the so-called "front line" black states from Mozambique to Zimbabwe—can see no solution except to bargain away the country to imperialism. Genuine social and national emancipation of the post-colonial states of southern Africa, rent by tribal divisions within borders arbitrarily drawn by their former imperialist masters, is inextricably tied to proletarian revolution by the overwhelmingly black working class of South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the region.

Yet it is precisely this perspective which the Moscow and Havana Stalinists oppose. Soviet "experts" have recently advised the African National Congress to clamp down on any talk of "socialism" and even questioned majority rule, proposing instead a "bicameral parliament that would give the white minority an effective veto" (*Los Angeles Times*, 5 February)! But just as the 1976 defeat of the South African incursion into Angola helped inspire the Soweto uprising, a genuine communist party in South Africa could use the shock of the recent military defeats to push forward a revolutionary struggle against apartheid by the powerful black proletariat which holds the promise of liberating all of black Africa from the imperialist chains.

No sellout in Angola! For workers revolution in South Africa!

--Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 458, 29 July

**Contact the Trotskyist League**

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## CP...

(continued from page 4)

encapsulate 'new thinking'.... The main danger is not American imperialism, the danger is the existence of nuclear weaponry."

This is flatly, dangerously, wrong. War is a symptom and result of the contradictions of capitalism in crisis; as long as they remain in power the imperialists will wage war, with whatever deadly weapons they have at hand. Pacifist calls for "disarmament" and "nuclear weapons-free zones" will no more stop imperialist war than will Gorbachev's vaunted "peace offensive." NATO imperialism's purpose is to reconquer the Soviet workers state for capitalist exploitation. The only thing preventing the warmongers from carrying out their mad plans for a nuclear first strike is fear of a Soviet second strike. The peoples of the world should be thankful for the existence of those SS18s and SS20s.

The CP's opposition to NATO is most definitely not "first or primary." Take a look at the July 4 *Tribune*: "A nuclear weapons-free Canada," it explains, "is not contrary to our commitment to NATO." *Our* commitment to NATO?! These days the CP's dream of an anti-nuclear popular front seems to stretch beyond the NDP, Liberal Party and retired NATO generals even to NATO itself. In contrast we Trotskyists say: Smash NATO/NORAD! Defend the Soviet Union! We affirm, with Lenin, that only class war can end imperialist war.

Faced with a massive imperialist military buildup and domestic economic stagnation, the response of the Gorbachev regime has been to introduce market-oriented reforms at home while seeking to accommodate the rapacious warmongers abroad. The Canadian CP sees in Gorbachev's "peace offensive" the opportunity to move further into the mainstream of Canadian nationalism and social democracy. Even the grand, mythical "anti-monopoly coalition" has been tossed on the scrapheap. Now the CP seeks "unity of action...between a section of capital, even some monopoly interests and the working class" in an "all Canadian Coalition against Free Trade." It's the same, old, pernicious class collaboration, "unity" of the supposedly "enlightened" exploiters with the tame workers.

The CP's popular-front policies were played out during World War II, when Stalinist flunky Tim Buck expressed utter devotion to the racist, lunatic prime minister William Lyon Mackenzie King. In the service of that "anti-fascist" all-Canadian coalition, the CP signed no-strike pledges and enthusiastically backed the racist rulers when they interned over 20,000 Japanese Canadians. Far from opposing nuclear weapons, they *hailed* the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, racist horrors intended to intimidate the Soviet Union. In World War II our Trotskyist comrades defended Japanese Canadians and were themselves persecuted for defending the Soviet Union and opposing the imperialist carnage.

At bottom, the "new thinking" is the same old Stalinist pipedream of "peaceful coexistence" with

capitalism. It means more appeasement of North American imperialism, from Afghanistan to Angola to Nicaragua—appeasement which only emboldens the anti-Soviet reactionaries. Throughout Cold War II, while the CP tried to duck and cover in the deeply anti-Soviet "peace" movement, the Trotskyist League stood firmly for defense of the USSR. We said "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" in 1979, and today warn against the bloody consequences of the Soviet troop withdrawal. In September 1981 we



Pool Photo/Picture Group

**Reagan/Gorbachev "peace" toasts won't stop rapacious imperialist war drive against Soviet Union.**

said Polish Solidarność was a company union for the CIA and bankers and headlined "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" For its part, the CP dispatched a goon squad against a TL "Stop Solidarność" banner on a Toronto "peace" march the following month.

Chasing the chimera of "peaceful coexistence," Gorbachev insists that "No one can close down the world of socialism, the developing world or the world of developed capitalism." This reformist denial of the possibility of proletarian revolution to overthrow capitalist imperialism, the corollary of the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," is utterly hostile to Lenin's revolutionary internationalism. Lenin said in 1920, "While capitalism and socialism exist side by side, they cannot live in peace: one or the other will ultimately triumph."

The Communist Party of Canada has been practicing to be an organization of peace-loving liberals for so long that the mask has become the face. In Canada and internationally, the CP's politics can only lead the working class to betrayals and defeats. Their illusory quest for a "peace-loving" wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie endangers the Soviet Union. In 1917 the Russian workers, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, ripped one sixth of the globe from the grip of imperialist capitalism. The very foundations of this workers state are internationalist. Today, more than ever, the gains of the October Revolution can only be defended through the internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky, the program of world socialist revolution. ■

## Racist Cop Terror...

(continued from page 1)

Unable to hold a steady job due to his injury, he was driven into poverty, unable to meet his mortgages. The cops came again last April, chasing Lester into the street, shooting him in the hip. For two days he was in a coma, his legs shackled to the bedposts! After two operations Lester Donaldson returned home, partly paralyzed from the waist down. And once more, on August 9, they came, bursting into his home in the attic of a Lauder Ave. boarding house, a single room with no kitchen and no toilet. They found him alone, sitting on his bed eating supper, his wife Myrtle out buying medicine and cigarettes. Constable David Deviney finished what the cops had started five years before. He



Workers Vanguard

**Chicago: Labor/black protest beat racist cop frame-up of Cassandra Seay (second from left).**

shot Lester Donaldson dead.

The Ontario Provincial Police, Metro Toronto cops, the coroner, all are scrambling to get their stories straight to whitewash this obscene racist killing. The cops say they thought Lester—who they themselves had crippled—was holding hostages. A lie! They claimed he had a knife, which they won't describe let alone produce. Every day seems to bring a new story of where and how many times Lester was shot. First reports said he "died...from a single shot to the groin" (*Globe and Mail*, 11 August), then that he "was shot twice in the chest" (*Toronto Star*, 13 August), and finally that he "died...of a wound to the chest and abdomen" (*Globe and Mail*, 15 August).

One thing they haven't been able to cover up is the cop Deviney's history of racist brutality. In 1981 he and five other cops savagely beat a 45-year-old black man, literally across the street from where Lester was killed. "Mistaking" Ronald Taylor for an "illegal immigrant," they beat him so badly that his landlady heard him screaming, "I can't take another one. If you kick me again I'm going to die" (*Globe and Mail*, 13 August). In a classic expression

of racist capitalist "justice," the six cops walked free while Ronald Taylor was convicted of assault!

Massing in front of Deviney's 13 Division headquarters, the protesters demanded "Charge the cop with murder!" Hundreds joined with the Trotskyist League contingent in chanting "Lock up Deviney—Throw away the key!" When prominent black lawyer Charles Roach spoke about "dismissing" this killer cop hundreds drowned him out with "No, no, jail him!" Large sections of the crowd also took issue with speakers who claimed "re-education" programs, "independent" review boards and the like could transform the thugs in blue. The cops exist precisely to "serve and protect" their racist capitalist masters. It's their job to go after desperate Sikh, Tamil and Central American refugees; to terrorize black neighborhoods; to beat and trample postal picketers.

### FOR LABOR/MINORITY MOBILIZATION!

The capitalists' onslaught against black and working people has made it clear that if we don't fight together, we're going to hang separately. The killing of Lester Donaldson has struck a chord in Toronto, exemplified by the reception given protesters as they marched. Black families on their porches clenched fists in salute, white youths in passing cars gave the thumbs-up sign, truckers blew their air horns. In the face of this solidarity with the victims of racist terror, though, one rally speaker, a self-described black nationalist, launched into a vicious, anti-white, red-baiting diatribe.

What's needed is a program of integrated class struggle against racist attacks. And even as assaults on oppressed minorities have escalated, there have been some important examples of genuine labor/black mobilizations which have helped stay the hands of the bloody killer cops.

When Chicago cops invaded the home of black bus driver Cassandra Seay in July 1987, viciously beating her and terrorizing her children and mother, and then arresting Cassandra on trumped-up charges, they didn't count on her being a member of a powerful union that could fight back. Militants in the integrated Amalgamated Transit Union organized to defend Seay with a protest campaign, mobilizing their union brothers and sisters to fill the courtroom at every hearing. And they won—last December, Cassandra and her mother were found innocent of every bogus charge brought against them by the Chicago cops. Such actions are but a small taste of the power labor could wield.

At an August 21 Black Action Defence Committee Toronto protest rally attended by 200, Trotskyist League spokesman Maria Lianos drew applause with her call for "labor/minority mobilizations to smash racist terror," which "would make the cops think not once or twice but ten times before they ever shoot a black man again." She continued, "But this also requires a fight against the racist labor bureaucrats and the likes of the NDP who uphold and support the racist status quo."

While Ontario NDP leader Bob Rae had his picture taken with Lester's widow, the NDP's role has been to fan the flames of racist reaction, emboldening

the thugs in blue uniforms and white sheets. Last year, the New Democrats jumped onto the anti-immigrant bandwagon when the racists were demonstrating in the streets. They've been banging the

for eight years raped Vietnam, who staged the Bay of Pigs invasion. In city after city black Democratic mayors have acted as overseers on Reagan's plantation, as in Philadelphia where Democrat Wilson Goode ordered the MOVE massacre.

**FOR FIGHTING WORKERS PARTIES!**

On both sides of the border working people and minorities desperately need to break with their pro-capitalist misleaders, with the whole idea that social justice and black freedom can be won within the vicious capitalist system. We need *fighting workers parties* in Canada and the U.S.—parties that organize the power of labor and minorities to smash racist terror, that uphold full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers, that defend and build picket lines, that support the revolutionary struggles of working people internationally.

The power of labor/black struggle under revolutionary leadership was demonstrated six years ago in Washington, D.C., when our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. mobilized 5,000 mainly black workers and youth who stopped a threatened Ku Klux Klan march. But behind the hooded race terrorists stand the badge-toting racists in blue uniforms who are *licensed to kill*. The Klan and other fascist vermin are only the auxiliaries—the *capitalist state* is the overwhelming source of violence against black people.

It will take a revolutionary workers movement, leading the mass of oppressed minorities, to stop racist cop terror through a victorious struggle for *power*. To forge that movement requires a political struggle against the likes of the social-democratic NDP and the capitalist U.S. Democrats, who are no "lesser evil" but instruments for binding the oppressed to their oppressors. Our fight must be to build multiracial, class-struggle workers parties in both Canada and the U.S. Vengeance for Lester Donaldson, for Anthony Griffin, for Philly MOVE and countless others demands we take society into our own hands through the North American socialist revolution. ■



**November 1982: Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C.**

drums for the imperialists' Cold War II anti-Sovietism, which is at the root of today's war on labor and minorities. The NDP tops have even praised Brian Mulroney's "stance" against apartheid. What hypocrisy! Joe Clark lit a candle against press censorship in South Africa and just seven days later Canada's cops killed Lester Donaldson!

Today the NDP campaigns to "defend Canada" against Mulroney's "free trade" deal. Their nationalism and protectionism are poison, telling Canadian workers that their enemies aren't Canadian bosses but foreigners—Japanese, Korean and American workers. Look at what NDP bigwig and darling of the bosses' press Bob White did to the auto workers. He split from the international union, severing ties with the historic center of auto union militancy, *black* Detroit. And protectionism directly fuels racism: "Canada First" is a slogan of the fascist Ku Klux Klan. In the upcoming federal election, a vote for the NDP could be nothing other than a vote for nationalist racism, for anti-Sovietism, for more of the same capitalist reaction (perhaps in coalition with the big-business Liberals). Class-struggle militants, fighters for black freedom: No vote to the NDP!

In the U.S., the capitalist Democratic Party serves to chain the oppressed directly to the bosses' state. Jesse Jackson's campaign for the presidential nomination certainly evoked a large measure of black pride. But his "anti-drug" crusade is a license for racist cops to invade the ghettos and step up state terror against black people. And Jackson's whole campaign was expressly tailored to corral blacks and labor into the Democratic fold of racism and imperialist war. It was the Democrats who destroyed Hiroshima in a radioactive holocaust, who

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## Canadian Troops ...

(continued from page 2)

Poses Bloodbath!"

Continuing the policy of cringing conciliation to U.S. imperialism exemplified by its unilateral withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Gorbachev regime's spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov borrowed the language of Reagan in treating the U.S.' terrorist act against Flight 655 as a "tragic accident." He appealed to the U.S. to withdraw the Sixth Fleet in favor of a UN "peacekeeping" force. Given that all the U.S.' machinations in the Near and Middle East have been directed at building an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" and that the U.S.' stated intention for going into the Persian Gulf was "to head off further involvement by the Soviet Union," this is absurdly, willfully blind. And given the whole history of so-called UN "peacekeeping" operations, even more so.

Remember: in the 1950s the U.S. imperialist war against North Korea and China was waged under

the guise of a UN "peacekeeping force," including some 20,000 Canadian troops. Today the U.S. is again relying on the jackal imperialists who run this country to serve as useful cover for their counterrevolutionary war aims, fully shared by Ottawa. There are already Canadian "peacekeepers" in the Near East—border guards for the Zionist terrorists in Sinai and the Golan Heights. In Afghanistan a Canadian contingent is helping to "oversee" the Soviet pullout and the advance of the CIA's murderous mullah fanatics. And Canadian troops are literally on standby to be rushed to Central America to help "stop Communism" if the Arias "peace" plan to strangle the Nicaraguan Revolution requires it.

The war-crazed American rulers, arrogant and racist, with their reckless disregard for anything that stands in their way, could easily trigger a nuclear war. Their Canadian junior partners run point for them at every turn. The only way to achieve peace on this planet and avenge the heinous crimes of imperialism is international proletarian revolution, above all in the imperialist heartland of North America. ■

## Leon Trotsky ...

(continued from page 16)

gives even more prominent coverage to the millennium of the Russian Orthodox church, that bastion of Russian nationalism, obscurantism and anti-Semitism. And in a succinct expression of *glasnost* today, they announce that George Orwell's 1984 will soon be published in the Soviet Union (while Trotsky's works are still banned).

As we note in "The Bukharin Dossier" (in the Spartacist pamphlet "'Market Socialism' in Eastern Europe"), the common thread behind the rehabilitations has been the "desperate need to find some historical alternative to the discredited Stalin on the same political ground of 'socialism in one country'." Thus the *Izvestia* (14 June) article on the rehabilitation of Zinoviev and Kamenev claims, "Everyone knows today that Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin was a friend of Lenin, the favorite of the party and its most prominent theoretician." Gorbachev's brain trusters look to the leader of the Right Opposition as the granddaddy of their market-oriented economic policies (*perestroika*). Trotsky remains anathema because his name is synonymous with the program of world revolution.

Moreover, with the rehabilitations they seek not to solidarize with the generation of the October Revolution that Stalin murdered in the Moscow Trials, but to conciliate Western liberal (imperialist) opinion. The *Moscow News* article makes this explicit. Not only does it grotesquely suggest that the seeds of Stalinism are to be found in the intransigent defense of revolutionary Russia during the Civil War, castigating Trotsky and Zinoviev for regarding "their well-known ruthlessness during the Revolution as a sign of valour" and claiming,

"They themselves put into the operation the bone-crushing machine which crushed them." The author's main objection to the purge trials is that: "Satisfying his thirst for blood...Stalin himself undermined the anti-fascist front then taking shape, and ignited the democratic West's mistrust for the USSR."

In fact, the *opposite* is the case. The Western press overwhelmingly bought the Moscow Trials and helped to spread Stalin's murderous slanders around the world, with such mouthpieces as the *New York Times*' Walter Duranty, the British Fabian "socialists" Sidney and Beatrice Webb, and various Stalinist fellow travelers. A Boston paper gleefully summed up the bloody purges, saying that the Third International had been stood against the wall and shot. At the same time, Stalin was beheading the Spanish Revolution by starving it of weapons, smashing the Barcelona workers and executing mili-

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**Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile demonstrate on anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, 1928. The center banner, with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, proclaims: "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."**

Basil Blackwell Inc.

tant leftist leaders. As the then-Trotskyist Max Shachtman wrote in his 1936 pamphlet, *Behind the Moscow Trials*:

"The dramatic indictment of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others, their ruthless execution, the indictment of Trotsky—that is, the assault upon those figures that symbolize the dread words 'World Revolution' to the international bourgeoisie, is Stalin's way of taking the blood-oath to the latter that the international proletarian revolution, so long as the Kremlin is concerned, has long been interred."

Yet this was not enough for the "democratic" imperialists, who refused Stalin's entreaties for an alliance. They were counting on Hitler to finish off the "Bolshevik menace." As Trotsky wrote in "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937):

"In spite of all the efforts on the part of the Moscow clique to demonstrate its conservative reliability (the counterrevolutionary politics of Stalin in Spain!), world imperialism does not trust Stalin, does not spare him the most humiliating flicks and is ready at the first favorable opportunity to overthrow him. Hitler—and therein lies his strength—simply more consistently and frankly expresses the attitude of the world bourgeoisie to the Soviet bureaucracy. For the bourgeoisie—fascist as well as democratic—isolated counterrevolutionary exploits of Stalin do not suffice; it needs a complete counterrevolution in the relations of property and the opening of the Russian market. So long as this is not the case, the bourgeoisie considers the Soviet state hostile to it. And it is right."

In explaining the "confessions" extorted by Stalin and his GPU thugs, and to explain away the political capitulations, the *Moscow News* writes that "a torture can be found to break anyone, even the staunchest." Yet there were those who did not confess, who fought to the end. The Soviet people in

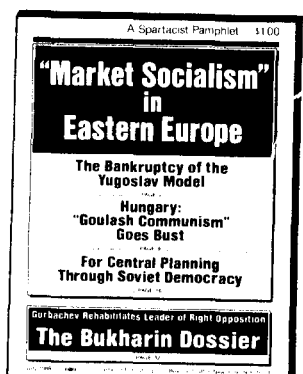
their search for the truth about their own history will rediscover the courageous Left Oppositionists, whose commitment to international socialist revolution armed them for irreconcilable battle against Stalin's destruction of Lenin's Bolshevik Party and program. As an eyewitness at the prison camp of Vorkuta reported, when the Trotskyists were shot during the bloody spring of 1938, "As they marched away, the condemned sang the 'Internationale,' joined by the voices of hundreds of prisoners remaining in camp."

The Trotskyists do not look to the bureaucracy, but to the Soviet workers to restore the Bolshevik leaders to their rightful place in history. Soviet democracy will only be restored through proletarian political revolution which will oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy in fighting to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution throughout the world. As Trotsky wrote at the height of the Moscow Trials: "Revolution will unlock all the secret compartments, review all the trials, rehabilitate the slandered, raise memorials to the victims of wantonness, and cover with eternal infamy the names of the executioners" ("The Beginning of the End," June 1937). Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

--Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 456, 1 July

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## The "Blank Space" That Haunts Gorbachev's Russia

# Leon Trotsky: Fighter for World Revolution

As tensions mount within the Soviet bureaucracy, the "historical" issue of the victims of Stalin's purge trials has become one of burning immediacy. But as the Gorbachev regime rehabilitates the leaders of the Bukharinite Right Opposition and the Zinoviev-Kamenev capitulators, there is one glaring "blank space" which continues to haunt Gorbachev's Russia: Leon Trotsky, co-leader together with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, founder of the Red Army and leader of the Left Opposition—the only ones who fought Stalin to the end, those who stood on the Leninist program of communist internationalism.

On Monday, June 13, the Supreme Court of the USSR formally reversed the convictions of Kamenev, Zinoviev, Pyatakov, Radek, and 29 other Bolshevik leaders framed up in the first two Moscow Trials in 1936 and 1937. Earlier, the court had rehabilitated Bukharin, Rykov, Rakovsky and 17 others, convicted in the 1938 frame-up trial of the so-called "Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites." Although the latest court decision cleared "everyone involved in their trials," there was no mention of Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov. But on June 17, Yuri Afanasyev, rector of the State Institute of Historical Archives, called at a press conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the juridical exoneration of Trotsky and for the publication of his works:

"We have to rehabilitate all who were oppressed or wrongly accused and, as a matter of justice, Leon Trotsky stands equally with all the victims of Stalin.... It is very strange that professors and teachers try to criticise Trotsky when they have never read a word that he wrote. The same is still true of Bukharin and Kamenev and Zinoviev."

Meanwhile, at the June/July Communist Party conference, Gorbachev called for a public memorial in Moscow to millions of Stalin's victims. A public rally for the memorial was held June 25 outside Moscow's Dinamo Stadium, with speakers including prominent Gorbachev supporters such as Afanasyev and Vitaly Korotich, editor of the *glasnost* weekly *Ogonyok*. And on the eve of the conference, *Moscow News* (26 June) ran a lengthy article, "The Poisonous Mist Disperses," on the rehabilitation



Wide World

### Trotsky exposes Moscow Trials frame-up from Mexican exile in 1938.

of the victims of the Moscow Trials. The article admits that "the main defendant at the trial—in absentia, to Stalin's great dismay—was Trotsky, whom Stalin hated bitterly." And it adds:

"Trotsky, then living in Norway, couldn't believe his ears. How could he—a Jew and an anti-fascist—and his former supporters be accused of conspiring with the Gestapo?"

Elsewhere in the same issue of *Moscow News*, the heretofore number one "non-person" in the Soviet Union is mentioned in an interview with Healyite actress Vanessa Redgrave (who calls for Trotsky's works to be published), and a column by Afanasyev urges tour guides in Leningrad's Smolny Institute, the hub of the 1917 October Revolution, to point out Trotsky's study. Yet *MN's* back page

(continued on page 14)